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VIII.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

IN common with young communities generally, we are more apt to consider our national problems as questions in morals than as questions in political science. However meagre may be his means for studying any proposed measure in other relations, the most ignorant voter believes himself entirely competent to decide, off-hand, upon its merits as a moral abstraction. It is not surprising, therefore, that American demagogy, and even a class of public men whom this category might not justly include, should devote more efforts to convincing what they are pleased to call the public conscience, than to enlightening the public mind upon the economic or sociological bearings of the question in issue. It is thus a necessary consequence of our system that many questions requiring for their correct determination the nicest expert processes of calculation have finally to be decided by "the popular moral sense," i. e., the congeries of class prejudices, supposed class interests, and the fortuitous bias that may have taken possession of the popular mind at any given time. It is not necessary to call attention to the many grave questions in our history that have been, at least, temporarily, disposed of in this way, or to the serious results that have followed. They are sufficiently numerous to suggest themselves.

However safely the popular conscience might be trusted to decide such questions as that of slavery, it is conspicuously fallible in others, such as tariff, finance, and taxation; and even slavery itself might have reached a more wise and less costly solution, had the Bible and the golden rule figured less conspicuously in its discussion, and the principles of economic and social science been more frequently appealed to. A distinguished writer, who has succeeded to Sumner's grave responsibilities as a statesman, says of that great abolitionist: "He had neither

the taste nor the capacity for philosophical analysis. . . . Sumner planted himself on the most general statements of right, on the simplest maxims of morals and duty—the opening sentences of the Declaration of Independence, the Sermon on the Mount, the golden rule, the beatitudes, the two sublime commandments upon which hang all the law and the prophets. His conclusion was always but one step from his premises. Sumner's decision, in the greatest emergencies, was prompt, instinctive, unhesitating." Unfortunately, however, his decisions were not always sufficiently without error to justify the precipitation with which they were reached; and, had they not been resisted by men who arrived at their opinions by more laborious processes—as in his extravagant notions of civil rights, and his foolish hostility to England in the Alabama case—would have resulted in serious mischief. *Fiat justitia ruat cælum*, would be a safer maxim in practical government, had we an infallible authority to determine the equity of each case as it arises; but, when men reach their conclusions by such royal roads as that here ascribed, no doubt justly, to Mr. Sumner, they are apt to find the heavens falling just as doubts begin to arise as to the genuineness of the justice whose doing precipitated the calamity. In our conditions, it is wiser to suspect the justice, however obvious it may appear, of any proposed policy which threatens such results.

Besides these moralist statesmen, we have few who apply any expert test but that of the lawyer to public questions. In the tariff debates of half a century ago, even so great a man as Calhoun could think of no other. He resisted protection almost solely on the ground of its unconstitutionality. That it was an economic question, as well as a legal one, never seemed to have dawned upon his mind, and but very few of his successors have discovered that there are any more appropriate methods of measuring the relative merits of protection and free trade than by examining the Constitution, its commentators, and the law-books. In the most important issue that has come before the Congress since the war closed—that of the debasement of the coinage—Senator Thurman was content to measure the Bland Bill with the yard-stick of the constitutional lawyer, and, finding full measure by that standard, to give it his approval. It did not occur to him that the business of Government, even in so purely

economic a question as this, could need light from any other source than precedent and prescription. It would be quite as reasonable to defend a bill for the manufacture of *papier-mâché* cannon, on the ground that such material was not prohibited in the fundamental law.

After this fashion opinion is now crystallizing on the question of Chinese immigration. Arguments are being adduced from morals, from dogmatic theology, from international law; and even a hazy sort of political economy makes its appearance now and then, which, without any very keen examination of the matter, is content to dismiss it summarily with a generalization based on the laws of trade. The burden of defense, however, as well as of attack, is thrown upon the laws and prejudices of men rather than upon the immutable laws of Nature. A succession of assertions and denials regarding Mongolian morals occupies a large space in the controversy, whose value can be better determined when we have found means of measuring moral phenomena, quantitatively and qualitatively. An immediately, and, at present, exclusively interested class, exhibits its special grievance, and demands Chinese exclusion on that showing, forgetting that there may be other classes whose interest may be in the reverse direction, and whose wishes deserve quite as much respect. Philanthropy and sectarian propagandism cite the golden rule and the Biblical command to preach the Gospel, forgetting that, among races as well as among individuals, the law of self-preservation antedates even the behest to love one's neighbor. The decision of all these issues would inevitably be reduced to the republican device of counting noses by means of the ballot, a process quite as likely to result in error as in truth, and almost certain to be followed by an unintelligible and unintelligent policy.

The appeal to economic principles is more intelligent. If the only question were as to the effect of Chinese immigration upon the growth of industry, commerce, and wealth, the natural laws of trade would be applicable; and it would be sufficient answer to the complaining "hoodlum" to tell him the industrious and frugal Chinaman was but another labor-saving machine, like the steam-plough and the cotton-gin, whose cheap energy would more rapidly develop the resources of the country, to the advantage of all its inhabitants. It is, however, one of the vices of the study

of political economy, since it has become popular, that people apply its principles, which are utterly valueless outside its specific and well-defined purpose of explaining the phenomena of wealth, in directions entirely foreign to that purpose, or where that purpose is of minor importance. Writers who have attained a superficial understanding of free trade, and of the meaning of *laissez faire*, hasten particularly to apply the latter in every department of thought with an innocent unconsciousness of the narrow limitations within which the doctrine was confined by those who invented it.

In the present case, as in the case of all immigration, error may come as much from ignoring all but industrial considerations as from the misapplication of economic principles. Political economy is not a *vade-mecum* of universal knowledge. Beneficent and useful as it is to mankind, it is, nevertheless, only a means of eliciting truths of a specific kind. "Chaque science," says one of its most distinguished teachers, "son objet qui lui est propre." Immigration has, of course, intimate relations to trade, and to the development of wealth. These relations are, indeed, its most obvious ones, and are naturally those which are first seized upon as the battle-ground of debate by both sides. As far as these relations go, the laws of trade, as discovered and elucidated by political economy, whose material of investigation they are, will be not only of value, but conclusive.

But are there not other relations which immigration bears, and notably Chinese immigration, and may not these be of equal, if not of greater, concern to this country than any it bears to trade and wealth? This question must be answered before the controversy can be regarded as closed by mere economic arguments. Political economy informs us that the Chinaman will promote the growth of wealth, but where and how are we to ascertain what the effects of unrestricted Asiatic immigration will be upon the growth and distribution of the human race upon this continent? What science or what line of investigation will give us answers to these questions:

1. Will it merely furnish an addition to our industrial classes, or will it result as a substitution, as far as it goes, of Mongolian for Caucasian in the total of our population?

2. If a substitution, how far will it go, and what are the pos-

sibilities and probabilities, as to amount of Chinese immigration to and Chinese multiplication in America?

3. If not an addition, but a substitution, is such substitution desirable; and, if desirable, to what extent?

4. Does it contain the possibility of a complete substitution of Mongolian for Caucasian, as the landing of Columbus, toward the close of the fifteenth century, contained the possibility of the complete substitution of European for Indian.

The startling nature of the possibilities these questions suggest may provoke constitutional optimism to dismiss them with a smile of incredulity, without much careful examination of the facts and principles by the investigation of which alone they can be answered correctly. National vanity will flatter itself that it is the madness of pessimism or sensationalism to suggest that the semi-civilized and stationary Asiatic can drive out the most vigorous and advancing, if not advanced, branch of the great Aryan race, without considering that it is not alone by moral, mental, or physical superiority that species and varieties have succeeded each other upon the earth's surface. Even many of those who endeavor to think and speak with some approach to scientific exactness, and in whose mouths is frequently heard that much-abused and much-perverted phrase, "survival of the fittest," will forget in dealing with the present subject that the "fittest" to which the doctrine of evolution refers is not necessarily what, from moral, intellectual, or æsthetic considerations, would be called the superior. In the struggle of vegetable life between the useful grass and the Canada thistle, it is the thistle which, leaving the skilled and watchful husbandman out of the environment, is the "fittest," and which survives invariably. In animal life evolution is equally regardless, in its selection of the "fittest" and surviving species, of all those moral, æsthetic, or utilitarian considerations which govern artificial evolution, under the operations of human knowledge, human needs, and human skill. Nor is the highest species of animal, man himself, less subject to this inexorable law in the survival or disappearance of his varieties, except where, by legislation, war, or concerted action of any sort, he interposes between races or tribes, as does the husbandman between the grass and the thistle, or the breeder of cattle between the blooded variety and the common stock, and thus substitutes,

to the extent of his power, artificial for natural selection ; or, to speak more exactly, introduces into the natural environment the modifying element of his own intelligence.

Taking it for granted, then, that the above questions regarding the possibilities of Chinese immigration are, at least, open ones, and that they cannot be summarily dismissed by any flippant generalization of mere optimism, their discussion, it must be conceded, is vastly more vital to the country than the mere economic or moral phases of the subject which have heretofore, almost exclusively, occupied debate, whether by the "hoodlums" of San Francisco, or by the Congress at Washington. It will also be apparent that, although economic science may furnish *principles* useful to the ethnological discussion, economic *purposes and ends* are not at all material to it. Moral and political considerations are equally foreign. It is not of the slightest consequence to the purpose now in view, whether the Chinaman is a moral paragon, or a moral monster ; a model of personal cleanliness, or all that the immaculate hoodlum charges him with being ; easily convertible to Christianity, or an obstinate idolater ; intending to take an intelligent part in our politics and government, or determined to remain politically inactive among us, but not of us. All we have to do is to determine whether, according to the strict limitations of the natural law of evolution, he is better "fitted" to survive in the environment of this continent than its present Caucasian inhabitant.

The phenomenon of human migration is but a stage in this inexorable process of the survival and disappearance of human types. The "unfittest," from whatsoever cause the unfitness arises, are pushed out of their home, as is a swarm of bees from the parent-hive.

Over-population, as in nearly all the recent migrations ; religious persecution, as in the Puritan exodus from England, and the Huguenot exodus from France ; an adventurous and enterprising spirit, as in the early Spanish outpouring to America, and the Danish and Norman invasions of the British Islands—any, or all, or any combination, of these circumstances in a community, or in any part of a community, may constitute the "unfitness" which drives it out to seek new conditions in a new home. The migrating body finds a more vacant spot of earth upon which it can settle ;

drives out some weaker population, which, in turn, develops the "unfittest;" mixes with some other population, which it merges, or by which it is merged, or by the mixture develops a new type; or finally, through its innate weakness, or through stress of buffet-ing circumstances in its changing or changed environments, disappears altogether from the earth.

It is not necessary to enter here upon any detail in a statement of how the human race have scattered in various ages, until they have covered the best part of the planet with strongly-marked and highly-developed types. The large and material fact will be accepted that Eastern Asia, very likely China, was the parent-hive where the species increased, and whence swarms went, or were driven forth, periodically, as the pressure of consumption upon production became too severe. The migrating bodies went westward, and not eastward, not because of any occult charm in following the sun, but for the very practical reason that land lay to the west, and that an unknown, impassable, and apparently boundless ocean lay to the east. If the cradle of the race was not near the Asiatic shores of the Pacific, it was not far inland; and, even though the very first migrations might have been in all directions indiscriminately, those toward the east were, at a very early stage, stopped by the Pacific, whose immediate neighborhood first became thickly settled, and whence, not toward which, the human swarms subsequently invariably directed themselves. The very early migrations eastward would have packed the Pacific shores more thickly than the land toward the west, as in that direction humanity found vast, empty continents upon which to distribute and sustain life upon a savage basis. Those who remained behind, from whatever reason—because they could sustain life in their unchanged environment, because they lacked courage or enterprise to change it, or because they had power to push others out—were constantly crowded, as well by the increasing difficulty of pushing the growing weight of humanity before them, and thus relieving themselves of their surplus, as by what might be called the back-flow, or recoil, of the race which wedged itself into the stationary population.

It is not necessary, therefore, to look very far for the reasons why India and China are the most thickly-inhabited portions of the earth's surface, nor for the origin of the fact that the races

now inhabiting those countries have reduced the needs of human life to a minimum. It was in that neighborhood primitive man was first pinched for room, and compelled to give up the chase, and betake himself to more artificial means of satisfying his hunger. It was there he first began eating vegetables, and observed, in a crude way, that he could control their growth. It was there he first discovered the wild beast he hunted could be subdued and propagated for his food. It was there the first rude elements of pastoral and agricultural life developed themselves, because it was there the crowded condition of humanity first made these discoveries essential to human life. Long before he had become capable of very largely differentiated enjoyments and luxuries, or intelligent enough to supply himself with the means of such higher pleasure, there were ages of natural selection which made life impossible among the masses to all but those who could sustain it at the very lowest limit of sustenance. To the tribes that went forth and scattered upon the virgin earth the improvidence of savage life, the alternate gormandizing and starving of the primitive hunter, was possible for many ages; and the variety of his circumstances and his comparative leisure to think, and in his crude way reason upon those circumstances, gave him room to develop a more differentiated character. For the crowded masses in the parent-hive, however, there was no repletion, no leisure. Every energy must be constantly applied to wring from the earth the barest needs of life; and, at best, life was maintained so near the minimum that momentary relaxation resulted in starvation. What wonder, then, that in this part of the earth man's development was all in the line of getting the maximum of sustenance out of the minimum of ground, and of sustaining life on a plane uniformly approximating starvation, with little or no margin for variation? This is the final fate of the masses in all thickly-populated countries; but, among Western peoples, a long period of varied experience, changed circumstances, and comparative plenty, develops a highly-differentiated civilization before mankind is compelled to fall into this rut that lies along the brink of the abyss of starvation. The character of the Western type of man is the product of ages of travel done by his savage ancestors, a wide variety of exigencies by which he has been modified, a latitude of room in which to develop in

many directions. He is the son of Adam who went abroad, or was driven abroad, to seek his fortune. The Mongol is his less adventurous brother, who has stuck to the homestead and its unchanging or slowly-changing circumstances. To speak of him as stationary and unprogressive is inexact. He grows, but with less rapidity than other races, because he has less room. From the infancy of our race his environment has pressed upon him, as the Chinese shoe presses upon the foot, crushing him into a narrow mould of custom, where he has been set for ages. As constant over-population abnormally developed his industry and frugality, and his capacity to live where all other races would starve, these qualities in turn, as civilization progressed, and enabled man to get more and more food out of a given quantity of ground, resulted in making possible a multiplication of the species which the appetites of other races would render them unable to sustain.

It would be interesting to follow the train of thought suggested by the various swarms of humanity which poured westward from this hive from age to age—how one wave succeeded another, overwhelming it, mingling with it, or being overwhelmed itself, until all the earth was full, and the pickets of our race stood upon the shore of the Atlantic, peering over its mysterious waters, and believing them boundless or impassable; how long they paused there, still pushed forward from behind by later swarms, until they found means to venture out upon the waste of waters, and discovered empty land upon the other side; how they found a few scattered savages—perhaps autochthones, possibly descendants of a few waifs from Asia, who drifted across the Pacific without means to return, and were forgotten by those they left behind, as their descendants forgot them and the last traces of their origin; how the vigorous European brushed aside this weak variety of man, and, multiplying upon the eastern edge of the new continent, very much as his Asiatic ancestors multiplied on the eastern edge of the old, sent new swarms still westward, until the circuit of the earth was completed. The adventurous brother who left the old Asiatic homestead, thousands and thousands of years ago, upon the western shores of the Pacific, stands now upon its eastern shore, and looks across, changed beyond recognition by travel and adventure, upon his elder broth-

er who remained at home, and upon whose character and habits ages of time have made little effect. The causes impelling these repeated swarms westward, the laws by which they were controlled, the modifying influences with which they came in contact and which developed from the original type so many and so various races, present an inviting field of thought, which it is not the design of this article to enter upon, but the main facts of which the intelligent reader will bear in mind through what follows.

Setting aside the merely incidental, and regarding the phenomenon of emigration in its most general aspect, it is only necessary for the present purpose to consider its great general cause—hunger. Individuals and small aggregations may change their homes for other reasons, but mankind, as a species, has gone abroad only for food.

The process has continued in a westward direction, impelled by starvation in Asia, until it has filled the temperate zone with as crowded a population as it can well sustain according to the Caucasian manner of living. The pressure of the starving horde in Asia has forced forward, and added to, the mass it drove out, until the latter has filled all the vacant space in that direction, and become heavy enough to resist the further efforts of the former.

It may be assumed, then, that Eastern Asia can no longer relieve itself of its surplus population by those westward tidal waves the last ripples of which broke upon the Atlantic shores in the beginning of our era, and submerged and almost annihilated Græco-Roman civilization. There can be no escape by land to the south, for India and the lesser peninsulas in that direction are already packed as closely as China. To the north, the barren waste of Siberia has already been encroached upon as far as its sterile soil will sustain life. The human race have increased to such a multitude in China—where one-fourth the planet's inhabitants are packed upon a territory no larger than the United States—that the earth has been made bare for food. In the intense war with Nature for the sustenance of this vast horde, the forests have been swept away, and the terrible consequence has come of an appalling decrease of moisture, and a growing sterility in the soil, where every foot of ground, at its best, had to be worked with tireless industry to sustain its teem-

ing population. At last, exhausted Nature refuses to follow any further the increasing demands upon her fruitfulness, and a calamity stares the world in the face, to which even the fabled history of the race furnishes no parallel. It is easy to write down the fact that 70,000,000 Chinese are starving, but it is impossible for the mind to contemplate the dimensions of such a fact with any approach to appreciation of its stupendous character. A mass of human beings equal to the combined population of the British Islands and the United States, nearly equal to the total population of North and South America, packed into the northern provinces of China, have eaten the green earth bare, and are now in the throes of starvation. They have devoured the last traces of vegetation, have eaten the dry wood of fences and houses, have gnawed and swallowed their own wretched clothing, and have even fed upon the very soil itself, which no longer gives forth its vegetable treasures! What this calamity means is no secret to the reader of history, nor to the correct thinker, accustomed to consider social phenomena as the material of a science. It means migration, and migration on such a scale as the historical period of man's existence upon earth has never witnessed. Like a volcano inclosed by the hardened lava of its former eruptions, China has been quiescent for many centuries, gathering force from Nature's fires to break the crust again wherever it may be weakest, and pour forth another flood.

On which side, then, are the barriers weakest? is a most vitally interesting question. If it were five hundred years ago, the answer would be, "On any side but that of the Pacific." But our inventions have broken down this barrier, and taught the Chinaman to cross it without fear. He has not been slow to learn, either. The present generation remembers when the Mongol was seen, in exhibitions of curiosities, in this country. He already numbers nearly 200,000 in the United States.

It is said that those who have come intend returning, but that is an incident of the inception of all emigrations. Thirty years ago, the European who came to the United States almost invariably intended to return, when he had made the fortune which he expected could easily be found in this favored land. The same might be said of the early emigration to Australia, and of nearly all colonization. But, as the emigrants increase in number, they

gradually find the conditions of the new country approximating to the old. Their friends have followed them. All that constitutes home has been transferred to the colony, and to return would be to leave home again. It required much less to make this change for the German or the Irishman, because the community he left behind was a smaller one and not so unlike ours. To the Chinaman, the 150,000 of his fellow-countrymen in San Francisco are no more than the three ship-crews who came with Columbus were to the Spaniards, the small settlement at Jamestown to the Englishman, or the first landing in the St. Lawrence to the Frenchman. But even already the Chinaman is beginning to give manifestations of the change from adventurous fortune-hunting to permanent colonization. He is monopolizing "quarters" in the large cities, bringing out his women, setting up his joss-house, his opium-den, his theatre, his gambling-place, and other institutions of Chinese civilization, which are rapidly reconciling him to America as a home. He is even beginning to bury his dead here, and to look forward with complacency to his own sepulture on this side the Pacific. That he is subjected to mob-violence will no more frighten him than it frightened the Irishman when Know-nothing crowds burned his churches in Philadelphia. He has come to stay, and he has only just commenced to come. The first ripples have struck our shore. The tidal-wave is now forming in interior China, which may overwhelm us.

In what numbers will they come?

In 1840 there were 8,000,000 souls in Ireland. In 1845 the potato-famine began, which culminated in 1847. In 1855 the population had been reduced nearly one-half. Two millions had starved. The rest of the reduction was accomplished by emigration in spite of the well-known fecundity of the race.

China contains, in round numbers, 450,000,000 inhabitants—about eleven times the population of the United States, on about one-fifth more ground. The famine is nearly in the same proportion to the whole as that of Ireland was. If the parallel were continued, there would be nearly 100,000,000 deaths by starvation, and another 100,000,000 emigrants within the next twenty years.

It would be absurd, of course, to carry the parallel to the

matter of emigration, as the limitation of the carrying-power of available vessels, if nothing else, would prevent such an exodus over the Pacific. It is easy to believe, though, that the arrivals, when the exodus fairly begins, will only be limited by the means of transportation, and not by safe or convenient transportation either. The rotten hulks that were pressed into service to bring emigrants across the Atlantic, during the flood-tide of European emigration, will find their counterparts, no doubt, upon the Pacific. It would, of course, be hazardous to anticipate by figures, where a few millions, more or less, would make so little impression upon the mass left behind. As far as China is concerned, to send us ten, or fifteen, or even twenty millions, would be a small matter.

What would this or half or quarter of this involve?

To the immigrating horde, doubtless, a greatly-improved condition upon that of China, and such reports sent home as would keep up the flow eastward.

But to America?

Which brings us to the questions asked some pages back: Would this be an *addition* to our population, or would it be merely a *substitution* of so many Mongols for what, in their absence, would be in time a Caucasian increase?

At this point a well-established law of population, revealed by the researches of political economy, will be valuable aid to further progress. There is no generalization of that science, which has held its own against attack from so many quarters and for so long a time, and which is now so generally accepted, as what is called the Malthusian theory of population. To state it as its discoverer understood and declared it is to carry conviction with the statement to every mind not obstinately resolved to misunderstand. It will, therefore, be unnecessary to elaborately explain the operations of that law here, or to defend the solid ground upon which it rests. It is, in the language of Malthus, that there is a "constant tendency in all animated life to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it." Or, as applied especially to man, in the more elaborate and analytical words of one of Malthus's most intelligent commentators, Prof. Cairnes—"that, regard being had to the powers and propensities of human nature on which the increase of the species depends, there is a constant

tendency in human beings to multiply faster than, regard being had to the actual circumstances of the external world and the power which man can exercise over the resources at his disposal, the means of subsistence are capable of being increased."

A careful examination of the instances of natural human increase under the most favorable conditions of sustenance has demonstrated that population can, at least, double itself every twenty-five years. That it would exceed even this rate, under still better conditions of sustenance, there is no reason to doubt; and that this rate of increase could be kept up indefinitely, if the means of sustaining life could be indefinitely increased in the same ratio, is a perfectly safe deduction. It is a fair corollary, then, of the law of population that, wherever the natural increase of the human species does not maintain this ratio, it is not because of what might be called a subjective decadence of virility and fecundity, but on account of the objective impossibility of increasing the food-supply to keep pace with it. Where there is no food there can be no animal life is as self-evident a proposition as that where there is no fuel there can be no fire; and it is equally true to say that animal life can only be increased so far as the food necessary to sustain it can be increased. Population will always keep pace, by natural increase, with the increase of sustenance, and will be kept within that limit, where the natural propensities tend to pass it, by starvation, disease, war, and, among a very provident people, a decrease in the number of marriages, and a tendency to smaller families.

It follows from these laws that immigration, as a means of increasing the population of a country already *stocked* with the human species, is unnecessary, and does not result in such increase except as follows:

1. Where the new stock, by reason of greater intelligence or industry, is capable of producing a greater surplus over its consumption than the old, that surplus being then available for a further increase.

2. Where the new stock, with industry equal to that of the old, produces a quantity of food equal to that produced by the old, and, by reason of greater frugality, consumes less.

The surplus of food produced in either case provides for so many additional mouths, and the mouths will follow very quickly.

The first case was illustrated by the arrival of Europeans in America. The native savages, being incapable of getting food by any other means than the chase and a very rude agriculture, required immense tracts of land for a very small population, and their number was, therefore, almost stationary, or very slowly increasing. How many long ages it would have required to develop them to equality in food-producing power with the white, if the white had not come, is not pertinent. But the white came, and, being able to get more sustenance out of an acre of land than the Indian got out of one hundred, he increased more rapidly. The Indian, being unable either to make a slave of the white and appropriate the product of his labor, or to imitate the industry of the white, and compete with him for the food that was locked in the bosom of the earth, gradually disappeared as the white man occupied his hunting-grounds and turned them into farms.

The second case was illustrated by the subsequent wholesale emigration of Europeans which began between 1840 and 1850, and has continued with more or less force ever since. The Irishman, German, or Scandinavian, being accustomed to a much more meagre way of living than the native American, for a time only supplanted him in the lower grades of labor; but, being nearly his equal in productive capacity, and requiring much less to sustain himself, produced a surplus upon which both increased.

In both cases, however, there was a substitution of the new stock for the old, as well as an increase in the total. The Indian disappeared altogether, because he could not get sustenance in the conditions which the white man made. The native American, accustomed, as he was, to the abundance of a new country, was nevertheless capable, by his superior intelligence, of appropriating, as capitalist, enough of the surplus product of the new immigrant to sustain himself for a time on his accustomed liberal standard of living. It was only for a time, however. The market for his enterprise was limited, and he was soon compelled to move westward in large numbers; while among those who remained on the seaboard marriages gradually became rarer, and families smaller. The new immigrant, accustomed to the hardships of peasant-life in Europe, was capable of maintaining a large family on the income with which the native would not have dared to marry. The immigrants have, accordingly filled

up the seaboard cities, and are repeating the process in the West. Had European immigration ceased altogether in 1800, the 4,000,000 whites then in the country might not have increased to 40,000,000 by the centennial year; but, granting them equal industry with the later immigrants in the production of the needs of life, they would certainly have fallen short of it only inasmuch as it would have required a smaller number of them to consume the product of that industry. They would have required a longer time to increase to that number only because they would have required a longer time to produce the greater quantity of the needs of life required by that number of their breed.

The influence of the later European immigrant upon the number and character of the population was, of course, much modified by his community of race with the first settlers, and the readiness with which he enlarged his needs and liberalized his habits to the standard he found here, as well as by the capacity of the native to meet him half-way in a contraction of his own, where it became necessary by reason of poverty. But, allowing for these modifying influences, a large margin remains upon which the immigrant and his descendant have been *substituted for*, not added to, the otherwise possible increase of the native American.

Although this conclusion is reached by an argument from the nature of things, it does not lack the confirmation of fact, as witness the daily-increasing complaints of those who have the best opportunity for observing, that the native American, in New England cities particularly, is no longer increasing in number, but is content with a family of two or three, where he has any at all, while the German, the Scandinavian, and the Irishman, are filling the land with their large broods of sons and daughters. Immigration, therefore, can be regarded, with the exceptions which have been pointed out, not as an increase of the population, but as a change of stock. Inasmuch as it has operated in this way, European immigration may be considered as a good or an evil, according to the individual preference for Celt, Teuton, or Anglo-Saxon.

It is not so much the present purpose to discuss the merits of the respective European breeds as to show the laws by which they tend to displace each other. These laws operate with much greater force in the case of the Chinaman, compared with whose

standard of population this country seems almost as empty now as, by the European standard, it seemed when it contained none but aborigines, and compared with whose standard of living the present white inhabitant neglects almost as many sources of food, and lives almost as improvidently as did the savage. As the white was able to support large communities on grounds which the Indian required for his game, as the recent immigrant from Europe was capable of raising a large family upon an income which would not justify a native American in marrying at all, so the Chinaman can live and accumulate a surplus where the Caucasian would starve. His geographical position upon the earth's surface, his peculiar relations in time and in space to the processes by which the human species were spread over the earth, have surrounded him, as we have seen, with an environment peculiarly favorable to the development of food-getting and food-saving faculties to a degree which the American Caucasian neither envies nor is capable of imitating.

A conspicuous factor in the battle of life is omnivorousness, or diversity of feeding. That animal which has but a single plant, for instance, it can use for food, may be annihilated by a frost, or grub, or any other cause which would remove that plant for a single season. That which feeds indiscriminately on all plants will find abundant sustenance under more adverse circumstances. That whose stomach receives vegetable or animal food with equal favor has a still better chance of surviving under unfavorable conditions; and that which can catch the most various sorts of prey is more apt to have prey always at its command than that whose powers in the chase, whose courage, or whose strength, can only overtake or overcome the most slow-moving or weakest animals. Man, the most perfect of animals, the most numerous of large animals, the one who, in the present conditions of the earth, could survive all others, has attained to this position of mastery largely because he is, of all animals, the most omnivorous. It would be a tremendous catastrophe indeed that would sweep all his thousand sources of food from the earth. It would have to involve nearly the entire destruction of animal and vegetable life. This law governs in the competition between his varieties, as well as in the competition between animal species. Where he has learned to get food from the most various sources,

there he multiplies as nowhere else, for there the chances of the exhaustion of his food-supply are least. It was because the American Indian must get wild game, or starve, that he had to move west and disappear. He knew practically nothing of satisfying his hunger in other ways, and was incapable of learning. The Irish grew to a multitude of 8,000,000, on their little island, by a long succession of abundant potato-crops—almost their only food. Two or three bad seasons came, and half of them disappeared. That they could not obtain anything but potatoes, subjected them to the same law as the Indian, who knew nothing of any other staple food but game. Of all the varieties of man, the Chinaman is the most diverse in his food. All is meat to him; animal or vegetable, in the air, on the earth, or in the waters under the earth. He can gorge himself with joy upon the abundant meat-diet of the Englishman; he can dine comfortably and happily upon a brace of mice, or eke out life, for weeks, upon a few handfuls of rice. He has carried epicureanism as far as the ancient Roman or Greek, or the modern Frenchman, and can serve a feast whose complexity would puzzle, if not charm, a Parisian *chef de cuisine*; or he can drive the vulture from his prey, or devour the unclean bird itself. And all the time he can work without ceasing. He can pack more of his kind upon an acre of ground than any New York tenement-life can show, and live there in what he regards as tolerable comfort. In this he has exactly the same advantage over the “Melican” man as the European had over the aboriginal inhabitant of this country, and as the Englishman had over the Australian savages. On the other hand, the Englishman will never succeed the Hindoo, for the reason that the Hindoo, on account of his extreme abstemiousness, can support a larger population on a given space. He may govern him for a time, as the Arabian did, until the Hindoo has learned the modern mode of warfare, which he has been too busy getting food ever to have discovered for himself. That the latter will finally absorb the Englishman as he did the Arabian, and as the Saxon did the Norman, there is little chance for doubt, the popular notion to the contrary. It is by no means the most vigorous and most courageous or most enlightened type of man that always survives. He may conquer an inferior people, and govern them for some time, but, if they can produce as much

as he by their labor, and are content to live on much less, he will either become like them in course of time, or disappear.

It is really, therefore, those characteristics of the Chinaman which we most despise—his miserable little figure, his pinched and wretched way of living, his slavish and tireless industry, his indifference to high and costly pleasures which our civilization almost makes necessities, his capacity to live in swarms in wretched dens where the white man would rot, if he did not suffocate—all these make him a most formidable rival for ultimate survival as the fittest, not only in America, but wherever he may find a footing. If he were a large-bodied and large-stomached man of refined tastes and varied necessities, we should have little to fear from him. Such a type would find more difficulty in supplying its large wants than we in supplying ours, and would, therefore, either descend to our level, or disappear. We might, by sending a million of men, or a lesser army, to China, succeed in conquering it, and governing it as the Tartars did; but our army would become like the Chinese in course of time, and be entirely lost in their mass, as the Tartars were. If we sent ten millions, it would be only a question of time when they should wholly disappear.

The treatment the Chinaman has received from the white population of California is kindness itself compared to that which has been accorded him in Australia, where the competition of the races is far from being so intense; and, if the Californians are becoming more bitter in their warfare of late, it is only because the difficulties of life have so increased within the last few years as to become wellnigh intolerable to a people accustomed to such generous habits as ours. The swarm of Chinese, in San Francisco particularly, and their monopolization of many branches of industry, from which, by their wonderful manual skill, their highly-developed and intelligent imitative faculties, their tireless industry, and their abnormal frugality, they have driven out the white, bring the latter face to face with the possibilities of the future. He needs no knowledge of the methods of scientific and philosophical reasoning to perceive the irreconcilable antagonism between himself and the new-comer. He feels as the aboriginal Indian felt when he came in contact with the early white immigrant, and began to observe his mode of life, that he

cannot live beside the stranger without becoming like him ; and, if that were desirable, it is impossible. There is as wide a gulf between him and the Chinaman as there was between the red warriors of Powhatan and his fathers. The differences which have been growing in the heredity of ten thousand years cannot be wiped out in a generation.

It is another matter altogether with the free negro. In that case, the industrious white has as great an advantage as the Chinaman has in this. The negro is as far behind us in the art of sustaining life as we are behind the Mongol. The environment in the evolution of his race has always offered room for the preservation of life in savage conditions, and by the simple rudimentary industry of a savage people. He has all the thoughtlessness of the morrow, all the propensity to liberal feeding of the savage, and has learned only in slavery to support the needs of life in the conditions of our civilization. As a consequence, when thrown upon his own resources in a civilized community, he begins to disappear. Our ancestors emerged from the broad and roomy environment of pastoral and savage life only a few centuries ago, and our life-sustaining faculties represent what has been stored up by heredity in the period which has since elapsed. The Eastern Asiatic emerged from those conditions at a period so remote that no human record or tradition can be found so old as to refer to a time when China and India were not too populous for the conditions of savage life. The accumulated experience of countless ages is, therefore, stored up in the Chinaman's food-getting and food-saving capacity, and those ages properly and fairly represent his advantages over our race in the battle for the survival of the fittest.

The Californian laborer sees only the present aspect of it. It is the duty of the statesman to see the future. The hoodlum's vision views only the preliminary skirmish in which himself, as the picket of the Caucasian race, is engaged. It is the province of the philosopher to embrace in his views, as in that of a Moltke, not only the smallest details of reconnaissance, but the broadest possibilities of the battle, the campaign, and even the great war itself. To satisfy himself with the small range of facts and principles within the narrow vision of the hod-carrier or mechanic, would be as short-sighted as for the farmer who

discovered a single Canada thistle in his clover-field to rest satisfied with the consideration that, after all, it occupied but little space, without a thought of the potentialities in its spreading power.

Is not the Mongol a thistle in our field? Shall we pluck it up, as does the wise husbandman, or shall we withdraw the intelligence of artificial selection from the environment, and leave the battle to the chances of natural selection alone?

M. J. DEE.